2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

At the market at Yakutsk I have seen white clay pottery made with the potter's wheel. These wares were made by Russians. I could not learn, however, the origin of the white clay.

The Yakut of the northern districts of Yakut Province, Verkhoyansk and Kolymsk, of the lower course of the Lena, and of the villages on the Olenek, Khatanga, and Anabara rivers, neither use pottery nor have any knowledge of its manufacture, but utilise iron and copper utensils. It is curious that they do not know that their southern relatives from whom they separated about two hundred fifty years ago still use and make pottery. This is surprising since there are passages in folk tales referring to clay pots.

The fate of Yakut pottery demonstrates the possible differences in the sequence of development of culture. Among civilized nations the ceramic art has been perfected simultaneously with the development in the production and manufacture of metals. With the Yakut, as with other Siberian tribes, the opposite occurred. For instance, the present Kamchadal and Koryak do not know that their forefathers made pottery, but archaeological excavations[1] by the author on Kamchatka Peninsula and within the territory of the Koryak brought to light ancient specimens of their pottery. Compared with the Koryak and Kamchadal, however, the Yakut are relatively much more advanced in culture having, in the past, been affiliated with other civilized Turkic nations of southwestern Asia.

Metals

At present the Yakut are acquainted with iron, copper, bronze, silver, gold, tin, and lead. All these metals, except tin and lead, still retain their old Turkic names: iron, *timir;* copper, *altan*, red copper, *jas altan*, yellow copper; brass, *ūös altan* or *ürüñ altan;* bronze, *čyañ* (after Sieroszevski); silver, *kömüs* or *ürüñ kömüs* (white *kömus*); gold, *kysyl kömüs* (red silver); tin, *xolholyun;* lead, *sibinās*, *xolholyun* is a Mongol word and *sibinas* a Russian word (*svinetz*).

Iron. Iron (*timir*) is historically and economically the most important metal among the Yakut who were acquainted with the reduction of iron ores and iron manufacture before reaching their present abode. There are no data to prove that they worked iron before they learned the manufacture and use of copper, bronze, and other metals. In central Siberia, on the Yenisei and Angara rivers, ancient sites have been discovered on which remains of the late neolithic period were found

[1] Jochelson, Waldemar, Archaeological Investigations in Kamchatka (*Carnegie Institution of Washington*, No. 388, Washington 1928), 69–76.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

000 Kolymsk every summer, bringing flour and other commodities for sale or exchange for furs.

Cultivation of Meadows

246 231 221 The cultivation of meadows consists in the use of grass land for the maintenance of horses and horned cattle. The long and severe winters necessitate the storage of food for domestic animals and hay is the only available forage in Yakutsk Province. In summer the animals are put out to pasture. The meadows are extensively exploited. The grass is cut with sickles. It is of poor quality because none is sown. The quantity of hay needed for the long winter is enormous and the entire short summer is devoted to haymaking. The hay is of uneven quality. There are many late over-ripe grasses; some of the hay is cut during the rain and is consequently an unsubstantial food for the animals. There are no exact data on the quantity of hay usually stored, but, according to some investigators of Yakut economic life, they obtain about 50 per cent of the necessary hay. Despite vast areas of grass lands, the domestic animals will continue to suffer from the scarcity of hay until grass sowing is introduced.

Domestic Animals

233 ● 178 *Horse and Cattle Breeding.* The first travelers and investigators of Yakut Province reported that the primary occupation of the Yakut was the breeding of horses and horned cattle. Driven from the south to their present abode by Mongol-Buryat hordes, the Yakut wandered with their droves of horses and herds of large horned cattle. The former inhabitants of the country, forced farther south by the Yakut, continued their hunting life, and at the same time kept their reindeer and driving dogs.

Historical data for the last two centuries show that the two branches of Yakut animal industry have developed in the direction of increasing the number of horned cattle at the cost of the number of horses. Originally, horse-breeding predominated among the Yakut, now the number of horned cattle is much larger than that of horses.

The following table shows the average number of horses and horned cattle in the three southern districts (Olekminsk, Yakutsk and Viliuisk) for the years 1901–1910 and 1917.

	1901–1910	1917	1925
Horned cattle	304,851	482,005	
Horses	108,942	128,465	
Total	413,793	610,470	536,589

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

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In 1917 there was an increase in horses and horned cattle as compared with the preceding years. In 1925, after the revolution, the number of both decreased.

The census of 1917 showed that each Yakut household of the southern three districts had an average of 9.3 horned cattle and 2.4 horses. The two northern districts, Verkhoyansk and Kolymsk, had in addition 1.758 driving dogs and 18.148 reindeer, 5.485 horned cattle, and 4.886 horses per household. The inhabitants of Yakut Province have, on the average, twice as many horses and five times as many horned cattle as the population of the rest of Russia.

The Yakut domesticated animals were originally obtained from the Kirghiz, but have deteriorated in the far north. They are smaller and

[492]

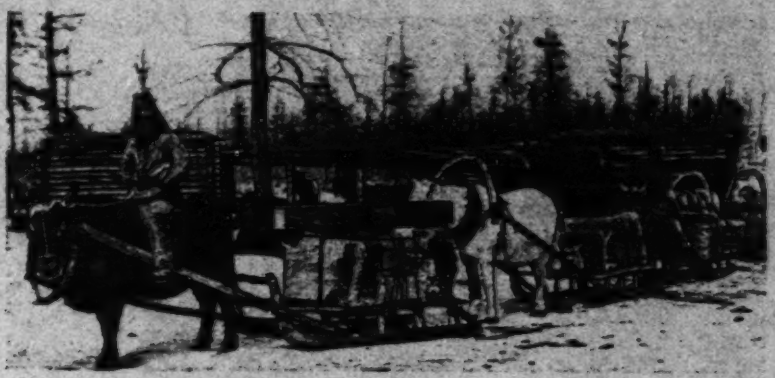

Fig. 81. The Method of Transporting the Museum Collections from the Verkhoyansk Mountain Ridge to Yakutsk City.

less prolific than the original strain. The average weight of a living ox is 320 kilograms and of a cow 220 kilograms, while the corresponding weights of a Kirghiz cow and ox is, on the average, 900 and 560 kilograms.

The average annual milk product of a Yakut cow is only about 560 kilograms, but the fat content is relatively high, from 5 to 7 per cent.

That the Yakut horned cattle are small and less productive may be explained by the unfavorable conditions for food and shelter. The cattle are put out to grass pasture from June to October. Two-thirds of the year, as the result of the long winter and severe frosts, they are sheltered in stalls, where they receive very scanty rations of hay, often of poor quality. In addition, the stalls are small, dark, and dirty.

[233] [492]

Reindeer Breeding. The domesticated reindeer is reared in the northern districts of Yakut Province, chiefly by the Chukchee, Koryak,

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

THE KUMISS FESTIVALS[1]

During my leadership of the Siberian Division of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, I was engaged in the investigation of the Koryak and Yukaghir. The results of this investigation were published in two comprehensive volumes. I went to the Yukaghir from the Koryak country across the Stanovoi Mountain Ridge, and my return route to Europe and America lay through the territory of the Yakut and the whole of Siberia. 114

The years 1888–97 were spent among the Yakut as a political exile. During the two last years of that period I was a member of the Yakut Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Professor Boas, the organizer of the Jesup Expedition, wished to take advantage of my knowledge of the Yakut country and tribe and to acquire Yakut ethnological collections for the Museum. An extensive collection was gathered. Most European museums, even those of Russia, have at present only insignificant collections from this interesting tribe, the ancient culture of which is disappearing under the influence of climate, Russian contact, and other factors.

The large ornamented wooden kumiss goblets described below are not easily obtained at present. The conical birchbark summer dwelling is no longer used. However, the Yakut, though now living in the extreme northeast of Siberia, are typical representatives of the culture of the nomadic or semi-nomadic horse and cattle-breeding Turkic tribes of Central Asia. They have preserved one of the oldest Turkic dialects. They introduced silver, iron, and copper work, fashion in costume ornamentation, dualistic religious ideas, and the poetical folklore of the Tataric peoples of Western Asia. In their old habitat they were principally horse-breeders, but in their present abode they increased the number of their horned cattle to the detriment of their herds of horses and cow's milk became a substitute for mare's milk, from which kumiss is made. Finally, the cultivation of cereal plants, a trait borrowed from the Russians, in the southern and middle parts of Yakutsk Province, has so progressed in the last thirty years, that agriculture is now the chief occupation and bread the staple food of many Yakut of Yakutsk District, particularly of Olekminsk. Nowadays droves of horses and mares for milking, are found only in localities far removed from the centers of Russian influence, and these belong to a few very rich families. 178 ● 796

[1]Jochelson, Koryak, and Yukaghir, and especially, Kumiss Festivals of the Yakut and the Decoration of Kumiss Vessels (*Boas Anniversary Volume*, pp. 257–271, New York, 1906) where an account of these ceremonies and their paraphernalia was first published.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

With the passing of the production of kumiss, the ancient ornamented kumiss vessels and goblets, as well as the customs, festivals, and ceremonials associated with its production and use are also disappearing.

I was fortunate enough not only to collect a great number of ancient kumiss vessels in various remote localities, but also to arrange a kumiss festival not far from Yakutsk. However, before proceeding with the description of the festival I witnessed, it may be of interest to present one version of its origin.[1]

Long ago, Onogoi-bai, a Tatar of the Sakha tribe, settled on the Lena River. He came thither with his wife, Sara, his brother, Ulükhoso, and his men servants, thirteen men altogether. He possessed numerous cattle and horses and nomadized on the left bank of the Lena, on a plain he called Saisary. While living on Saisary Lake, a son, Ăn-Taibŷr, and two daughters, Ăn-Tahyngai and Nyukă-Kharakhsyn were born to them. Later, a strong and alert youth named Elliei came to him. He was an excellent hunter; roamed through the mountain forests like a wolf, lead bears in by his hand, and dashed through the water like a pike. He entered the service of Onogoi, lived with him three years, and gained the love and respect of all the family.

Once Sara said to her husband: "Er-Elliei is such a clever man, he may be better qualified to become our son-in-law than to remain a worker." Onogoi answered indignantly, "I shall not give my daughter to a stranger. Apparently you like him yourself." Sara replied, "I know you fear Elliei and that he is happier than you are. You tremble when you see him. If you want to convince yourself that what I say is true, stretch a white horsehide through the middle of our birchbark tent, fasten it to the ground with pegs, sit down on it, and with a goblet filled to the brim with kumiss in your hand, call for Elliei." Onogoi did as his wife advised him. When Elliei entered, Onogoi's hand trembled so that he spilled half the contents of the goblet.

When Onogoi convinced himself of Elliei's power, he said to him, "Friend, you have served me faithfully as a relative for more than three years, now I wish to compensate you. My good horse and valuable furs are not sufficient reward for you. You have no woman friend; choose that one of my daughters who pleases you." Elliei thanked him for his kindness and asked for time to consider the matter. Ăn-Tahyngai, Onogoi's elder daughter was rather ugly, while the younger, Nyuka-Kharakhsyn, was handsome and the father's darling.

[1]Recorded by Priklonsky and translated into German by Radloff, *Ibid.*, 74–77, and re-translated into English by the author.

6: Sauer--112-113 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut-1-2
116, 161, 178, 651, 177, 65 Russia
636. 65

"Their number is computed at Yakutsk to be 50,000 males; but I am inclined to think that they are not so numerous; and my reasons are these: They say themselves, that in 1780 they were more numerous than they are now, much better circumstanced, and in an increasing state. At that time they had only one Commander and his Assistant. (1)

1. I am here induced to remark, that before the Empress Catherine II established governments and courts of justice throughput the empire (1782), all these distant towns and districts were governed by a voyavod and his secretary, and Cossacs were sent among the tributary tribes to enforce the imperial mandates. On the establishment of the government, every town had its mayor and different courts of justice allowed; so that there now exist many towns in these remote parts, where the inhabitants consist of government people only.

Upon the Socha chiefs bringing their annual tribute, they always observed the custom of shewing their particular attachment, by making these gentlemen a [113] trifling present of furs, horses, and cattle, and supplying their table with flesh, fish, milk, and butter, and also with wild fowl. Considering their immense possessions, and the cheapness of all the articles, these presents were never felt as of any consequence by the

individuals who made them. At present, however, their stock is considerably diminished, not amounting to one tenth part of what it was. Instead of having only the voyavod and his secretary to deal with, they now know not how many commanders they have to pay their respects to. A commandant, a captain of the district, a director of economy, judges of the different courts of justice, with their secretaries and dependants, and other officers, are occasional travellers among them; beside which, they complain of numberless exactions according to the arbitrary will of their superiors, only authorised by their own presumption.

These circumstances undoubtedly discourage the activity of the Yakut, who no longer endeavors to procure wealth, because it is the likeliest means of making him the object of persecution. Thus property, tranquillity, and population decrease.' The princes or chiefs dwelling near towns acquire their luxuries, and oppress their dependant tribes to procure wine and brandy in addition to their koumis: this was never known among them till the year 1785. I will farther add, that in 1784 the district of Gigansk produced 4834 tributary natives; but in 1789 their number amounted only to 1938. Mr. Bonnar, the captain of the district of Zashiversk, told me, that the tributary nations in his circle amounted to only half the number that they were five years ago and that these were very poor indeed."

6: Sauer--114 [2] G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 141, 178, 511, 556

"There is perhaps no nation in the world that can exhibit a greater variety with regard to size. The affluent, whose dwellings are situated about the meadows on the south side of the Virchoyanski chain, are from five feet ten inches to six feet four inches high, well proportioned, extremely strong, and very active; while the indigent inhabitants of the more northern parts are in general below the middle size, indolent, and of an unhealthy complexion, evidently stunted by the badness of their food, the severity of the climate, and the want of proper cloathing. Their wealth consists in horses and horned cattle. The private property of no individual at this instant exceeds 2000, all species included; formerly, numbers of them possessed 20,000, according to their own testimony..."

7: Shklovsky -- 46-47 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 178, 622

"At one time the position of head man of the clan was hereditary. His power was unlimited and he might torture his kinsmen and put them to death, or sell them as slaves and take all their possessions. Now the headman is elected to his position, and he has about the same jurisdiciton as a Russian village [47] staroste, the only reminder of bygone supreme power being a cutlass."

9: Stadling--89-90 E-3 (1898) 1901 Yakut
116, 178, 231, 422, 556

"The Yakuts are generally poor. Their principal possessions consist of cattle and horses. The Yakut horses are small and shaggy, but very hardy, strong, and good-tempered animals. Throughout the long and terrible winter they subsist on the grass underneath the snow, which, like the reindeer, they remove with their feet, the strongest [90] horses going in front, and the weaker ones following them, eating the uncovered grass. The Yakuts, like other Tatar peoples, are very fond of horse-meat, and from the horses' milk they prepare the well-known kumiss. The number of horses they own, however, is diminishing, and only well-to-do Yakuts as a rule now keep them, the great majority having cattle instead. (1)

1. In former times the Yakuts regarded cattle as unclean animals, but little by little utility has conquered superstition, so that the cow has now to a great extent replaced the horse both as a yielder of milk and meat, and also as a beast of burden."

14: Krauss--166 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 178, 756, 797, 177.79 Russia
636.79

The destruction of the Yakut state by a small crowd of strangers, and the administrative measures which were taken by the orthodox conquerors, necessarily impaired the position of the ancient Yakut gods. They soon began to be forgotten. The activity of the missionaries gave this development further support.

It so happened that the gods have been almost entirely forgotten. "I cannot but state," Mr. Middendorf says, "that, upon my questions concerning the peculiar qualities of certain demons and their names, I could get no information, and, upon more urgent querying, only learned that it might have been like that in ancient times. Their religion, which had been flourishing one time, has been forgotten. I saw fragments only; survivals of a former doctrine." The present religious conception, Theodor Solovjev states 30 years later in his article on "Die Ueberreste des Heidentums bei den Jakuten," are permeated with Christian elements. Christian monotheism is the background of their conceptions. The actual state of things evidently represents the last phase of vanishing shamanism.

Nevertheless, the outward conditions of life have hardly changed after the Russian conquest. There is always the same uncertainty of existence; the unsatisfactory conditions for men as well as for animals continue to exist. The sacrificial priests still everywhere and always hold position and duties of priests, physicians, and fortune-tellers (prophets).

17: Erman--260 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 178, 563, 437

" An old Russian, from the vicinity of Murom, who had been banished to Yerbinsk some fifty years before for homicide, complained to me, with laughable impudence, of the progressive improvement of the Yakuts. Formerly, these people paid for every pound of flour, with the finest furs, but now they hardly paid as much for a pood; and so it sometimes happened that they laid up a stock of flour, and then, in the winter, retailed it to the Russians. Indeed, when he first came here, every Russian passed with the Yakuts for a superior being, --they have even stood to salute him at a respectful distance; but matters were at last nearly come to that pass that he would have to bow to the Yakuts."

17: Erman--300 N-3 (1828-29)1850 Yakut
116, 178, 517, 296, 294

"Although the Yakuts are considerably inferior in civilization to the Buddhistic Buraets, yet they possess, in many respects, extraordinary cleverness and knowledge. They have the appearance, rather, of a people who have grown wild, than of a thoroughly and originally rude race. Their skilful management of the deer-skin, and their expertness in ornamental sewing, are conspicuous in every article of their clothing, and in many details of Yakutian house-keeping, to be mentioned hereafter. They seem, in many cases, to have in view, not merely the satisfaction of their wants, but decoration, also, and pleasing appearance. Yet, while pronouncing this opinion, it is necessary that we should look fairly at the kind of life led by these herdsmen; and, having done so, we cannot feel surprised that every thing belonging to them smells of cow-dung, and that their clothes, which are never washed, very soon take the look and colour of the substance with which they are in perpetual contact."

19: Kharuzin --53-54 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut
116, 178, 562, 587, 593, 842

Despite the fact that with respect to marriage the sons still are in a position of dependence upon the parents, their situation is considerably freer than that of the girls. A widowed daughter, returning to the parental home, again falls under the authority of the father; she is as devoid of rights as her young unmarried sister. The more independent position of the son is explained chiefly by the fact that the family and the clan prize children of the male sex more highly than those of the female sex: the birth of a boy is greeted by the Yakut with greater joy than the birth of a girl. Yakuts who do not have sons are scorned by their neighbors: they call them khatirik-uoma, i. e. "fire from bark (?)." The small esteem in which girl children are held by the Yakuts is indicated by the rule, whereby [54] a widow who marries for a second time must leave her sons by the first marriage with the family of her husband; but the daughters, as an unnecessary element in the family group, she can take with her to her new family. This rule is obviously of comparatively recent origin: it could arise only after the widow became free in general to marry outside of the confines of her husband's group, and after the kalym had begun to lose its significance of a purchase price for the bride, and had begun to return to the family of the bridegroom in the form of a dowry. Gaining nothing by giving a daughter in marriage, the Yakut familial-household group naturally regards daughters as a completely superfluous element in the family, and sets no value on them.

19: Kharuzin --42 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut-1-2
116, 178, 562, 586 594, 837

The absence of any rights on the part of woman, among the Yakuts of the district studied by M. Pripuzov, is most marked... in the field of property relations. Her personal position is at the present time considerably better protected than in earlier times. In this respect one notes in the life of the Yakuts a definite, although naturally a very relative progress. In effect, even at present, the husband considers himself within his rights to beat up his wife if she neglects her household duties, if she is a spendthrift, or if she is unfaithful to him. The Yakut further has the right to put his wife out to hire as a workwoman, and to use the money earned by her. But he does not have the right to kill her; he cannot sell her, or lend her to someone else.

Instances of the cession of wives to other men, as is known, were encountered among the Yakuts up to the end of the 18th century, while the existence of the custom of lending one's wife to a guest is substantiated by traditions (Vsesoiuzone Geograficheskoe obshchestvo, Vostochno-Sibirskii Otdel, Izviestila, XXVI, No. 4-5, pp. 218-19). As concerns instances of putting our wives to work, Prince Kostrov (Ocherk iuridicheskoe byta IAkutov [Juridical Customs of the Yakut], p. 283) communicates the rather interesting fact that this practice has as its object to effect a separation from the wife: after a church wedding the Yakut rarely leaves his wife, but since such marriages are often consummated against the will of the parties involved, the husband sometimes abandons his wife, who customarily finds herself a lover, to whom she goes to live. In order to avoid prosecution by the authorities, writes Prince Kostrov, the husband and the lover

19: Kharuzin --42 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut-2
116, 178, 562, 586, 594, 837

make an oral and sometimes even written agreement to the effect that the former is hiring his wife out to the latter in the capacity of a servant with her consent and for the upkeep of the household.

19: Kharuzin -- 45-46 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut -1-2
116, 178, 421, 431, 583, 614

In the Sbornik obychnago prava Sibirskikh inorodtser (Compilation of the Customary Law of the Siberian Natives), issued by Mr. Samokvasov (pp. 221-22), reference is made to the rule of the Yakut customary law, whereby "the dowry is paid as compensation to the bridegroom and his relatives for the payment of the kalym ; the dowry is given in cattle, clothes and sometimes in money, amounting to one half of the stipulated kalym; the bride may not have a dowry valued at less that half the kalym, while a larger dowry, sometimes exceeding the entire kalym (which very rarely happens), depends upon the will of her parents." Mr. Sieroszewski also remarks that the payment made to the parents of the bride as well as the gifts presented to the relatives and match-makers by the bridegroom are subsequently returned to the bridegroom in the form of dowry and gifts. It is only the expenses connected with the reception and "other insignificant additional expenditures" that the bridegroom pays without being reimbursed. Unlike the kalym, the dowry does not constitute an indispensable element in marriage. Although the relatives of the bridegroom receive the bride rather coolly if she brings to her new household less than was anticipated, and although quarrels and lawsuits ensue if she brings a dowry smaller than agreed upon, in some cases the parents do not give any dowry even if they receive a considerable kalym. Public opinion censures such actions, but the mere fact that such actions take place gives support to the opinions of Mr. Sieroszewski that dowries are a comparatively late institution among the Yakuts; on the

other hand, this explains the fact that up to the present time, according to Mr. Pripuzov it was the custom in the Yakutsk region not to make arrangements concerning the dowry and that the size of the dowry depended completely on the good will of the parents. [46]

The return of the whole or a part of the kalym to the clan or family of the bridegroom is the ordinary source of the dowry; this practice develops principally in the period of decline of the custom of purchasing one's wife, when the formerly dominant custom of purchasing the bride gradually loses its inherent sense and continues to maintain itself through tradition. But the Yakuts of the locality investigated by Mr. Pripuzov apparently have not yet elaborated definite rules, regulating the size of the dowry: all depends on the will of the father, which carries us to that period of development of the dowry, when the latter did not yet constitute a stable institution, and was given by the parents out of a desire to better the position of the daughter given in marriage in her husband's clan group by the return of a part of the kalym, to dispose the strange clan group favorably toward the young woman. Obviously, in this form the dowry has nothing in common with a distribution to the girl of a part of the property of her kin group. Her family does not deprive itself of the smallest part of its own property; the marriage is consummated at the expense of the bridegroom, and the family of the bride only denies itself, and that often only to a certain extent, the acquisition of the property which is a product of the sale of the daughter into a strange clan.

19: Kharuzin -- 47-48 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut -1-2
116, 178, 562, 587, 614

The right of the widow in the event of a childless marriage to return to her own family, the right of the husband to arrange before his death for the return of the dowry to his widow--all these rules, it appears, rose under the influence of the progressive softening of views on the personal and property incapacity of women. At an earlier time she was completely the property of her husband's group. Actually, we have no definite information concerning the existence of the levirate among the Yakuts at a former time; but the rules forbidding women to show themselves before the father-in-law and brothers-in-law, and vice versa, obviously bearing the character of so-called "sexual precaution" are traces of a one-time polyandry; finally, the absence among the Yakuts of any proper term for "widow," etc. (Sieroszewski, 569), compel us to assume that at a more remote time [48] the widow was considered the personal property of the family of the husband and probably passed to them as a piece of property. (1)

1. Contrary to the evidence of Mr. Gorokhov (Vsesoĭuznoe Geograficheskoe Obshchestvo, Vostochno-Sibirskiĭ Otdel, Izvĕstiia, 1883), Mr. Priklonsky mentions many instances of relations between the daughter-in-law and members of her husband's family: "This form of co-habitation is practiced often and quite freely, much more freely than, for instance among the Russians who conceal sin more

19: Kharuzin -- 47-48 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut - 2
116, 178, 562, 587, 614

carefully (Tri goda v ⁀Akutskoi oblasti [Three Years in the Yakutsk Region]. Zhivaia Starina, 1891, Pt. 3, p. 61).

19: Kharuzin -- 48-49 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut-1-2
116, 178, 428, 562, 589, 614

At the present time a widow can remain with her children after the death of her husband. The liberating tendency in favor of women in the development of customary law in the Yakutsk district is reflected in the fact that if a widow has young children of the male sex, she becomes the complete mistress of her husband's property; she freely disposes of it until the children reach their majority. More archaic views on woman's rights, however, are reflected in the fact that when the children reach their majority they have the right to proceed to the division of their grandfather's and father's property without seeking the consent of their mother. To her is assigned some indefinite part of the property, but always smaller than the share of each of the sons. The right of wives to one-fourth part of their husband's property, which is attested to in the Sbornik obychnago prava Sibiriskikh inordtsev [Compilation of the Customary Law of the Siberian Natives] p. 234. probably was the result of the influence of the Russians, and apparantly found very little reflection in life. The Yakuts of the Yakutsk district, at least, do not know this rule, if we are to judge by the information imparted to us by Mr. Pripuzov. The Yakut clan, permitting a certain economic independence to a widow with young children of the male sex, who are independent members of the clan unit, completely sets aside the widow, if her late husband left only children of the female sex. In such an eventuality, the situation, as we noted above, is held to be the same as if the man had died without issue: a certain part of the property is assigned to the widow with daughters,

all the rest goes to the relatives of the deceased. Incidentally, a more humane attitude toward women sometimes induces these relatives to permit the widow and her daughters to live on the farmstead of her deceased husband, depriving her, however, of the right to dispose of the farm. In the event of the death of the widow, [49] (or if she should marry a second time) the farm passes to the relatives of the deceased husband.

The facts adduced here testify that despite certain improvements in the attitude toward the personal and property rights of women, the position of the latter is still far from enviable: clan and household bases principally regulate the structure of Yakut life.

One cannot yet speak of the independence or equal rights of women among the Yakuts; even the rule making the parents the legatees of their children who died without issue, changes its aspect, if the deceased is survived only by a mother; while the father inherits all or the greater part of the property, the rights of the mother or widow to the property of children dead without issue are only equal to the rights of the other heirs.

19: Kharuzin -- 49 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut
116, 178, 426, 562, 594

The following rules, conceding certain rights to women, must be considered the result of the new views: 1. The wife has the right to complain against her husband if the latter, by his improvidence, is ruining the household; 2. The wife is conceded the right to contract debts; the wife is not responsible for the debts contracted by her husband for his own personal needs, and conversely the husband is not responsible for the personal debts of his wife. An exception is made when the couple offer surety for each other. These rules stand in such contradiciton to the personal and property incapacity of women that there can be no doubt of their later origin.

But when the wife, in the absence of her husband, has contracted "debts to cover the needs of the household or other matters pertaining to the home," the court comes to the defense of the wife and the creditor; the husband is held responsible for obligations entered upon with the object of benefiting his own household group.

19: Kharuzin -- 51 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut
116, 178, 888

Mr. Pripuzov informs us concerning the former custom of the Yakuts of killing their aged parents, which was done, according to the contemporary explanation of the population, as an obligation of Yakut sons, with the object of sparing their parents the sufferings of old age. Naturally, this custom, as well as that of the abandonment of newly born children by their parents, at present exists only in the realm of traditions.

19: Kharuzin -- 52 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut
116, 178, 836, 58

Discrepancies between the ages of the bridegroom and bride play no role in the selection of a bride; in general, the greatest significance is attached to the economic calculation, the labor capacity of the bride, the dowry expected from her parents, etc. In the selection of a bridegroom the parents of the bride are chiefly concerned with his economic position and industry. Hence it is understandable that in marriage among the Yakuts, in the words of Mr. Pripuzov, confirmed by other investigators, the mutual love of the couple, as well as the question of the virginity of the bride, do not play an important role, the more so since Yakut morality does not usually regard with disapproval the girl who has had children before marriage: they look upon her as a good future wife. Thus the choice of spouses for their children is left to the will and discretion of parents. Up to the present time the Yakuts of the district studied by Mr. Pripuzov observe the principle of marrying off their sons in turn: first the oldest son marries, then the next oldest, etc.; formerly this custom was also observed with relation to the daughters: the younger daughter was not given in marriage before the older one; nowadays this principle in the giving of daughters in marriage is no longer observed.

19: Kharuzin --53-54 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut
116, 178, 562, 587, 593, 842

Despite the fact that with respect to marriage the sons still are in a position of dependence upon the parents, their situation is considerably freer than that of the girls. A widowed daughter, returning to the parental home, again falls under the authority of the father; she is as devoid of rights as her young unmarried sister. The more independent position of the son is explained chiefly by the fact that the family and the clan prize children of the male sex more highly than those of the female sex: the birth of a boy is greeted by the Yakut with greater joy than the birth of a girl. Yakuts who do not have sons are scorned by their neighbors: they call them khatirik-uoma, i. e. "fire from bark (?)." The small esteem in which girl children are held by the Yakuts is indicated by the rule, whereby [54] a widow who marries for a second time must leave her sons by the first marriage with the family of her husband; but the daughters, as an unnecessary element in the family group, she can take with her to her new family. This rule is obviously of comparatively recent origin: it could arise only after the widow became free in general to marry outside of the confines of her husband's group, and after the kalym had begun to lose its significance of a purchase price for the bride, and had begun to return to the family of the bridegroom in the form of a dowry. Gaining nothing by giving a daughter in marriage, the Yakut familial-household group naturally regards daughters as a completely superfluous element in the family, and sets no value on them.

19: Kharuzin --62 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut
116, 178, 421, 614, 621

One must keep in mind that at present the community of neighbors has taken the place of the agrarian community of kinsmen, and that certain rights, formerly belonging to the kinsmen, have passed to the former. Besides occupation, labor, increment, the Yakuts also recognize finding, barter, purchase and gifts as sources of rights to property.

24: Wrangell--165-166 G-3 (1820-23) 1842 Yakut -1-2
116, 165, 173, 178, 212, 577

"I made several excursions on foot to different albuty, twenty or thirty wersts off. In one of them, called Sul'gi Etar (horse pasture), I met with a Jakut eighty-two years of age, named after Lieutenant Laptew, who visited the Kolyma in 1739. He had married a Russian woman, and could not only speak Russian fluently, but also read and wrote it with ease. In spite of his great age, he was so healthy and vigorous that he used to ride long distances with the young men, drive the cattle to and from their pasture, and take his share in most of the country occupations. He was very fond of tea and of punch, which are very expensive luxuries in this place. I passed many agreeable hours with this unusually intelligent Jakut. He complained of the ignorance of his countrymen, who, he said, had been formerly more civilized; and that, before they separated from the other Tartar races to which they are allied, they had possessed written characters, and, consequently, means of intellectual cultivation [166] which they have since lost. He asserted that his tribe had once inhabited far distant southern regions, and in proof of it he quoted several popular sayings, in which gold and gems, lions and tigers, are mentioned, of which they are now entirely ignorant. He was unable to speak more definitely concerning their earlier condition and country, as such accounts have only been handed down by traditions, which have been in great measure lost since Schamanism has yielded to Christianity. He said that litigiousness, dishonesty, and deceit had increased, and complained particularly that the immoderate use of spirituous liquors (of which, by-the-way, he was rather fond himself) had caused such a physical

deterioration in the race, that no one now attained to the age of a hundred years and upward, as was often the case in his father's time. He talked much of the severity of the climate, the frequent failure of the hay-harvest, and the ravages of wolves. I will here recount all that I could collect from his narrations and from conversation with his countrymen concerning their earliest history."

39: Jochelson E-5 (1888-97) 1906 Yakut

tribes, — such as the Gilyak, Kamchadal, Koryak, Chukchee, and Yukaghir, — which were studied by the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, were found to have a culture identical in many respects with that of the North American tribes. The Yakut, however, though at present living in the extreme northeast of Siberia, are a typical representative of the culture of the nomadic horse and cattle breeding Turkish tribes of Central Asia. In spite of their present isolation from the other branches of the Turkish race, and their probable mixture with Mongols, Tungus, and others, the Yakut, in the course of their migrations, have preserved one of the oldest and purest dialects of the language spoken by the Kirghis, the Altaic tribes, the Siberian and European Tartars, and other Turkish peoples. In tracing the meaning of some Yakut words, I am indebted to my friend Mr. Edward Pekarski, the well-known authority on the Yakut language, for his assistance.

While none of the other tribes of the extreme northeast of Asia are numerous, — each being composed of but a few thousands or even hundreds, and those often spread over large districts, — the Yakut, next to the Buryat (of whom there are about two hundred and seventy thousand), are the most numerous tribe of eastern Siberia, numbering some two hundred and fifty thousand. Regardless of the unfavorable conditions of life in their present territory, they are increasing numerically, and are showing capacity for higher material culture and intellectual progress.

According to some indications, the Yakut were separated from the other Turkish tribes of the steppes of central Asia and southern Siberia, and driven to the northeast by the Mongol hordes, at the time of the invasion of the conqueror Chinghis Khan. By the valley of Lena River they reached the country of their present abode, in their turn driving farther to the north and to the mountains, or assimilating, the ancient residents of the country, — the Tungus and Yukaghir. The Yakut brought to the far northeast of Siberia, not only their Turkish language, but also the whole of the comparatively high culture of Central-Asiatic horsemen, brought with them horses and cattle, introduced silver, iron, and copper work, the fashion in

39: Jochelson E-5 (1888-97) 1906 Yakut

231 mares for milking, can be found only in those districts far removed from the centres of influence of Russian culture, and they belong to a few very rich families.

178 Together with the passing of the production of kumiss, the 279 ancient ornamented kumiss vessels and goblets are also disappearing, as well as the customs, festivals, and ceremonials asso- 234 ciated with the production and use of kumiss. Kumiss, which 757 of late has been recommended by physicians as an excellent ther- 262 apeutic agent in some diseases, was known as a nutritious form of food in remotest antiquity to all the nomadic peoples of Central Asia and of the southeastern part of Europe. Herodotus also mentions it. It is poorer in fat, casein, albumen, and salts, but much richer in milk-sugar, than cow's milk, and therefore is not adapted for butter and cheese making. Fresh mare's milk tastes somewhat disagreeably sweetish. The Yakut do not like it fresh as a drink, but they take it when it is boiled, and also in their tea. Formerly they made from it — cooked with the pounded roots of *Lilium spectabile, L. martagon, Butomus umbellatus*, or *Artemisia vulgaris* — a kind of gruel called *butahas*. As far as we know at present, the preparation of kumiss from mare's milk is based on the fermentation caused by micro-organisms. Under their influence, the milk-sugar turns to lactic acid. When this process is over, the fermentation of alcohol from the lactic acid begins. It has been found of late years that the micro-organisms of kumiss, like those of kephir (a fermented drink prepared from cow's milk), form grains, which can be washed, dried, and preserved. With their aid, kumiss is nowadays prepared for medicinal purposes.

234 The Yakut, like the Kirghis and Bashkir, use as a ferment 273 some old kumiss or the residue of the kumiss of the past year, carefully collected from the vessels, and dried and preserved. This ferment of kumiss is called *xoyū* ("pulp"). If they have none, the Yakut, as well as the Bashkir, use sour cow's milk as a ferment; but such kumiss is not considered good by [415] the Yakut. When the mare is being milked, buckets made of birch-bark (see Plate XXII, Fig. 4) are used as vessels to receive the fluid. When the milking is finished, the buckets are left until the milk becomes cold, when it is diluted with an equal

/182 cont./

114 Olenék, near the mouth, he found the sunken graves overgrown with moss and lichens; only a weathered wooden cross with a barely legible inscription recalls the hero to mind. Perhaps an age that has again turned its interest to a significant degree to the navigation of the Arctic Ocean will set up a worthy monument for this deserving champion at the place where he ended his heroic career.

175 At that time Russian peasants probably lived
178 here; perhaps the present inhabitants are in part descendants
[651] of the many crews that came here with those bold commanders; they still call themselves krestjáne, i.e., peasants, and their crown tax seems to be standardized accordingly, differing from that of the other Jakuten /Yakut/; in everything else they are completely Jakutized and any reminder of former times has
[829] disappeared. But they complain that they are becoming ever
[162] fewer, not, say, because of especially devastating sicknesses, but because only daughters are preponderantly born to them. I do not know whether this phenomenon also occurs among other ichthyophagists. But that is what they are in the truest sense of the word.

226 During the greater part of the year they feed themselves and
262 their dogs almost exclusively on fish. Mukssún and o'mul of
231 considerable size are the principal fish, also taiméne /taimen/ and néljma, for which, however, this was not the proper season, and therefore, instead of the anticipated delicacy, we had
226 to be content with the former, less prized fish. Otherwise only a few smaller kinds of fish are found here, but no sturgeon or sterlet, although these, as we /183/ learned on the journey, are caught, even though rarely, much farther upstream in the region of the Ssiligír. Fishing is also productive in the tundra lakes; in particular two kinds present there were brought to us, the ihúk and the mungnúr, the latter a very tasty fish that is also quite common in the Olenék itself, where from the Ssiligír

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

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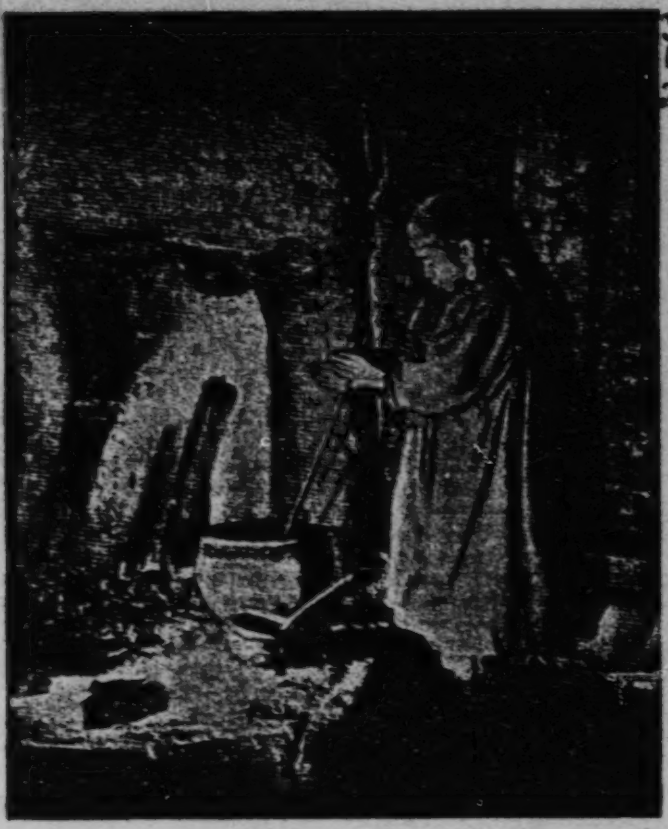

Hearth.

somewhere near the yurt, and there were also stalls for cattle, wattle pens for foals and so on. 342

In ancient times, however, the Yakut summer dwelling was different in type and was called the urasa or uraha (this type had practically disappeared by the end of the 19th century). The urasa was a conical construction made of poles covered with birchbark and was fairly spacious (4 to 6 m in diameter). The urasa differed from the conical birchbark chum of the taiga nomads by having a more solid structure; it had a square frame at the top made of beams which were attached to the top ends of four poles serving as the base; the birchbark was sewn together in strips in two layers, neatly and tightly; along the walls on either side were benches almost exactly as in the yurt; the urasa was heated by an open clay raised hearth. In the north this kind of dwelling (which was preserved much longer) was covered with turf instead of birchbark or on top of the birchbark; the rods of the frame in this case were more numerous and closer together. This earthen urasa or kalymsa (kholumas) was a sort of intermediate form between the conical chum and the Yakut log dwelling. 342 178 [35]

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

Summer birchbark dwelling and six-cornered house.

There was another type of construction found among the Yakuts (either as a dwelling or as a cattle stall); it was a six- or eight-cornered log yurt with a pyramidal roof, identical to the well-known Buryat and Khakas structures. These yurts were observed, for example, in the regions near the mouth of the Vilyuy, in the Megionskiy and Borogonskiy ulusy, as well as in the Kolymskiy Okrug. They have been known since the 18th century.

During the 19th century the Russian type of structure—the log hut—gradually came into use among the Yakuts, particularly the better-off people. At the beginning of the 20th century there were many such houses, particularly in areas near towns. A mixed type was often found: for example, a log hut built onto a yurt, a log hut with a Yakut hearth, and so on.

The living quarters and farm buildings of the family and the space surrounding them constituted the farmstead, which was fenced off with a solid fence of horizontal poles without any gates (in order to get inside the poles at one spot were removed from their supports, or else people simply stepped over them). Inside the enclosure were posts for tying up horses, and these were skillfully carved. In the summer camps the farms were often close together.

When speaking of structures, we should also mention the fact that in the old days the Yakuts knew how to make fortifications or ostrozhki, as they were called in the Russian texts of the 17th century. For example, in 1636–1637, during the campaign against the Kangalastay, the Russian Cossacks found that "they had built strong forts with two walls covered with gravel, and surrounded by snow and water;" it was only after a two-day assault that the Cossacks managed to take one of these forts. In 1642 the Russians also took a Yakut fortress after great difficulty: ". . . the fort was made with two walls, the space between the walls was filled with earth, and there were log towers." At a later stage these fortifications disappeared, and no one has described them since in detail. But even in the 19th century it was possible to find special tower-like barns here and there, which belonged to the Toyons.

Clothing

The national Yakut costume had only been partly preserved by the beginning of the 20th century, having been replaced by Russian clothing or at least strongly influenced by the latter. The national cut and purely Yakut materials were preserved to a greater extent in the winter clothing.

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

The underclothing of the Yakuts in the old days consisted of leather shorts (syald'yya), which have remained in use to the present day and are the same for men and women. They are supplemented at the top by a fur stomach-warmer and below by leather leggings. The shirt (yrbakhy) appeared later, evidently through Russian influence; it was made from Chinese blue cotton cloth or some other fabric, was the same in cut for men and women, and differed from the Russian shirt only by having a turned-down collar. The commonest outer clothing, both for men and women, was the son, a kaftan like single-breasted coat with a straight vent at the front; there was a fur version for the winter; in recent times it has become usual to cover it with some kind of cloth, but before, it used to be lined with suede. The summer son was made of cloth, but among the poorer people it was made of horsehide or cowhide with the fur on the inside. It was made by sewing four similar tapered strips together with the wider part at the bottom and with extra pieces in the form of small wedges below the belt; the sleeves were wide, puffed at the shoulders and narrow at the bottom. The ancient outer costume (sangyyakh) was retained as the festive dress for women, and to judge by 17th-century texts, it was originally much more widespread and not confined to women. It was a very fine and richly ornamented long fur coat fitting at the waist with a long vent at the back, with fur trimming and various extra pieces sewn on. These fine garments were kept and handed down as a family treasure, predominantly among the toyon families; the cost of them at the end of the 19th century reached as much as 1000 rubles. The cut of the sangyyakh was close to the Altay chegedek (the Khakas sigidek and Buryat tsegdek) from which it differed by having sleeves. The very names "sangyyakh" and "chegedek" are etymologically related. It was the straight vent at the back which distinguished typical Yakut clothing from the double-breasted costume of the steppe nomads, which closed on the right side; the outer clothing of the Yakuts differed from the Tungus clothing in that the flaps came close together, whereas among the Tungus they did not, and the gap in between came close together, whereas among the Tungus they did not, and the gap in between at the chest or stomach was covered with a chest-piece. The outer clothing of the men was usually girdled with leather belts; among the richer people the belt was ornamented from end to end with silver or copper plaques. A sheathed knife and a steel for making fire were usually hung from the belt. There were also belts with silver plaques and wide silk sashes.

The shape of the headgear was fairly varied. Leaving aside the types borrowed from the Russians, the following kinds can be distinguished. The ancient fur cap (in later times, made of velveteen) was like a helmet with a sharp point and elongated sides in the form of earpieces; it was trimmed with squirrel or some other fur and was worn by both men and women. It was similar to the type worn by the Kazakhs. The festive women's hat, similar in style, though more dressy, differed from the previous type by having a high cloth top, flat at the front and back, with various embellishments, the chief of which was a silver-minted disk (tuohakhta); the part hanging down at the back of the neck was covered with some kind of expensive fur. These large ceremonial hats are typical only of the Yakuts. They also wore a typical Tungus-type cap made of reindeer fur. The most interesting of the summer hats was a wide-brimmed flat hat, undoubtedly an imitation of the Russian straw hat, but woven entirely of horsehair. In the summer, people very often wore Russian peaked caps, or else bound their heads (both men and women) with a kerchief. A characteristic feature of the Yakut winter clothing

53; Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

was a ceremonial libation of kumys in honor of the deities, prayers to them, the ceremonial drinking of the kumys from very large wooden goblets (choroon). After this there was feasting, games of various kinds, wrestling and so on. The attendants of the benevolent deities, the so-called ayyy-oyuuna ("white shamans"), were the masters of ceremonies at the festivities, although they died out among the Yakuts a long time ago, on account of the decline of this cult. By the end of the 19th century, there remained only legends of the white shamans.

In the cult of both the benevolent and malevolent deities, a part was played at one stage by the military aristocracy—the toyons; they were usually the organizers. In their legendary genealogies the toyons often derived their names from the great and powerful deities.

The ancient ysyakh retained elements of the clan cult, and according to legend they had been organized according to clan in former times. The Yakuts retained other survivals of the clan cult, but these were not very clearly marked. For example, they retained elements of totemism, pointed out in the literature of the 18th century (Stralenberg). Each clan had at one time its own patron in the form of an animal; the clan totems were, for example, ravens, swans, falcons, eagles, squirrels, and so on. The members of a particular clan not only refrained from slaughtering their patrons and eating them as food, but also avoided mentioning them by name.

Associated with the clan cult was the worship of fire, which is still retained by the Yakuts. Fire, according to Yakut superstition, is the purest element and it was forbidden to defile or dishonor it. Before each meal was started, pieces of food were thrown into the fire; it was splashed with milk, kumys and so on. All this was considered a sacrifice to the master of the fire (Uot-ichchite). There was often not only a single master, but as many as seven brothers. No images were made of them. The cult of ancestors among the Yakuts was poorly developed. Among the deceased it was only the shamans and certain outstanding people whose memory was honored, and whose spirits, for some reason, were feared.

Folklore

The folklore of the Yakuts was somewhat one-sided, but in certain regions it reached a high artistic level. Apart from the wealth of varied and deeply poetic oral folklore, singing was far less developed and instrumental music hardly existed at all; dancing was fairly poorly developed and monotonous. In the realm of graphic art, the Yakuts only developed the applied forms—finishing and ornamentation of articles in everyday use.

A whole series of different genres and forms stand out among the oral creation of the Yakuts. One of the most interesting is the epic poem—the olonkho.

This is a very ancient type of folk poetry and originated in the clan-tribal age. The language of the olonkho is archaic, and contains a large number of obsolete, almost incomprehensible words and expressions, though it is at the same time rich, colorful and imaginative; the vocabulary of the epic contains almost twice as many words as the everyday language. Consequently, these works are difficult to translate into other languages. The olonkho describes the exploits of mythical warriors (bootur) and their struggles against the evil spirits, the abaasy. There are whole cycles of these poems built round the images

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

538 of certain favorite heroes (Khan-Dabargystay, Nyurgun Bootur, Bert-Khara, "The White Boy"); some of these cycles are so long that it takes several days on end to tell them. There were special storytellers called *олонхохут'ы* to recite these poems. A good storyteller was much respected among the people. He had to possess a wonderful memory, since he had to know by heart hundreds of thousands of verses; he had to have a poetic flair and at the same time a good voice and a musical ear, since the poems were partly intoned. The performance of the poems was a subject of special study. It was the custom to be as hospitable as possible to the storyteller, and many people would gather to listen to him. Sometimes the poems would be declaimed by several storytellers together, who to some extent or other dramatized the story, dividing the main roles among themselves; one sang the role of the hero, another the role of his adversary, while the third undertook the narrative part of the poem. The knowledge and narration of these poems was fast declining by the beginning of the 20th century, and there were fewer and fewer good storytellers of this kind; the collective singing of poems died out almost completely.

[178]

Alongside the epic poem, there were various historical Yakut legends called *былыргы сэһиннэр* ("Tales of Old Times"), or *өбүгэ сэһиннэр* ("Tales of Ancestors"). The themes in them dealt with genuine historical events and their heroes were historical personages; it stands to reason that both types were greatly modified and embellished with legendary motifs; the legends abound in anachronisms and it is impossible to relate them to any definite period without comparison with documentary sources. The latter show that there is usually a grain of truth in the legends. The best known are the stories of the "Yakut tsar" Tygyn (who was in actual fact a Kangalas toyon, living in the 17th century) and his rival Lëgëy (a Borogon toyon of the same period). There is most likely some historical truth as well in the widespread legends of the Yakut progenitors, Omokhoye and Elleye, who sailed by way of the Lena from the south; the legends, incidentally, are mainly to be found among the Yakuts from the Lena-Amga ulusy and are less known on the Vilyuy and in the northern regions.

The Yakut fairytales in verse are also colorful and interesting, particularly those about animals (they are called ostoruya from the Russian word "istoriya" (history), or kepsen. As distinct from the epics, these fairytales are not sung, but narrated; their language is quite different, and is simpler and more down to earth.

539 We should also point out the numerous and highly varied proverbs, sayings (*ос хобоото*) and riddles (taabryn), which are at times extremely clever and neat. Here are some examples: "There is a silver dish floating in the middle of the sea" (the sun); "in the evening my mother gave birth, in the morning I gave birth to my mother" (freezing and melting of ice); "four children make the bed" (a horse's hooves); "it is said that snow falling on a tree stump does not melt" (gray hair); "two people are fighting with sticks on two sides of a little lake" (eyelids); "Mother roars and the little child runs away" (a gun and a bullet); "it is said that a giant thief stalks underground" (fishing net). Here are some examples of sayings and proverbs: "A hand does not move away from a sore place nor does one take one's eyes from one's beloved"; "a silent person is always regarded as a clever person"; "need whips the vine more painfully"; "the tree will not shake without the wind" (there's no smoke without fire); "a rich man is never satisfied with his own riches"; "this demon is only human in that he eats food" (said of rich people); and many others.

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

175 firm Arai Gumi. The Yakut people took up arms in defense of their young
648 Republic. In March 1923, with the help of the Red Army units, General Pepelyayev was crushed.

175 Even while the struggle against the Pepelyayev bands was still at its
631 height, in December 1922 there was held the first All-Yakut Constituent Assembly of Soviets; this conference elected a Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissars of the YaASSR. In 1923 the Constitution of the YaASSR was adopted at the Third All-Yakut Congress of Soviets. In 1937 a new Yakutiyan Constitution was drafted and on March 9 of the same year it was adopted.

Industry and Transportation

433 During the Five-Year Plans a major socialist industry was developed in Yakutiya. At the present time, in addition to the gold, nonferrous metal and mica industries, there are coal, shipbuilding, building-materials, printing and also fish and dairy industries in Yakutiya.

316 Gold was first mined in the regions bordering on Yakutiya (Vitim and Olekma Basins) more than 100 years ago. But in Yakutiya itself the gold was only mined in very small quantities. In 1923 a prospecting party fitted out by the Yakutiyan government, with the help of Yakut guides, discovered the huge gold deposits on the river Aldan. The Aldan immediately became a major gold-mining area. All around the Aldan there arose settlements, mines, and power stations. At the present time the Aldan mines use powerful electrodredges, conveyors, compressors, excavators and haulage machinery.

[317] The salt reserves of Kempendey along the tributary of the Vilyuy are being exploited on a wide scale.

Extensive prospecting has resulted in the discovery of dozens of new coal deposits. There is now a coal industry in Yakutiya. An example of the rapid development of the coal industry in Yakutiya is the Sangarskiy area. Gold was first mined in Sangary in 1928. During the first year of the mine's existence only 15 tons of coal were brought up, operations being conducted entirely by hand. Nowadays the mine is a large, well-equipped industrial enterprise. A mechanized system for loading the
[361] coal onto barges has been installed. The construction of houses and cultural facilities on a large scale has begun in the coal-mining regions. Sangary itself has become a miners' settlement and an industrial corner of Yakutiya.

313 Before the advent of the Soviet regime the very rich forest reserves of Yakutiya were hardly touched. The timber rotted where it stood, or else was destroyed by forest fire. At the present time forestry is a leading branch of the Yakut economy. Advanced Soviet machinery is used on a wide scale at the lumber camps. There are mobile power stations, and electric saws with power units. The forestry organizations have been provided with dozens of hauling tractors and trucks. Fully mechanized sectors have been set up. The timer is floated downriver by means of mechanical traction. Sawmills have been built.

47 Hundreds of industrial plants have been set up in Yakutiya during the
● 178 Soviet period. The manufacture of glass, bricks, building materials, refractory materials, furniture, leatherwares and footwear, provides for local needs.

433 In accordance with the planned development of the economy the Yakut
184 region has been divided up into specialized regions—coal mining in the

glass, tambours (extra doors with an air lock in between) and savalinkas (mounds of earth around the house). A common practice is to ice over the house for the winter with a mixture of snow and water. Double ceilings, double floors, horizontal flues and shutters are still used; although rather rarely. The brick or tile stove is sometimes combined with the traditional Yakut fireplace. In many houses there is an extra iron stove in addition to the brick stove.

The internal appearance of dwellings has also changed. The furniture known before to the Yakuts (tables, stools and benches) has become less massive and more varied. We now find bookshelves, chairs, small dressing-tables and mirrors. Factory-made crockery and utensils are encountered in every home. Clocks (including alarm clocks), writing materials, and books have become common, and phonographs are also sometimes found. In most houses the walls are adorned with posters, pictures of Communist Party leaders, photographs, bookshelves, and over the bed there is usually a rug made of skin from the reindeer's head, bead-embroidered saddlecloths, or else the walls are covered with cloth. The windows have curtains.

Tremendous changes have taken place in the way of life of the Yakuts. Many collective farms now have electricity and radio. Clean clothes, hot baths, and attention to their personal appearance are typical of most of the collective-farm members. There has been a change in interests, habits and way of life. The outlook of the population has broadened. Books can now be found in every house. In the settlements people enjoy movies, and attend lectures and discussions in the reading rooms. Young people take part in ski-races, chess and other sporting events. Amateur song and dance groups in the clubs are usually of interest to the whole settlement. The families are no longer isolated and no longer keep to themselves.

A typical innovation for city children is toys, such as figures of horses and cows, rubber dolls, rattles, clockwork trucks, and so on. In addition to these, we commonly find delicately carved wooden animals and tiny bows and arrows. In the schools and boarding facilities children amuse themselves with the most popular table games. In the spring and summer they play various games, including hide-and-seek and blind man's-buff.

A great deal has changed in the Yakut diet, as well.

It should be remembered that before the Revolution Yakutiya was a country of chronic famine. Most of the Yakut population suffered from starvation every year, particularly at the end of the winter and in spring. Bread has now become a normal food not only in the southern but also in the northern areas. Groats and macaroni are now part of the staple diet. The consumption of vegetables and potatoes has also considerably increased.

In many regions the collective farms grow cucumbers, radishes, cabbages, onions and beets. Vegetables are imported in the dehydrated form. Everywhere the population is amply provided with tea, sugar, and tobacco. There are bakeries at trading points in most settlements. Meat and fish are consumed by the Yakuts in large quantities, particularly in the northern regions, where they are the staple diet. In the southern regions an important part of the diet is dairy products. On account of the overall improvement in the living standards of the people, sapwood is no longer consumed as food. Nor do they eat pickled fish any more. Local traditions are still retained in the cooking of dairy products, meat and fish. In the northern regions meat is commonly undercooked. Milk is made into some curious dishes such as suorat, khayakh, chokhoon, хобуор and so forth. In a number of regions reindeer gristle is still eaten in the raw state as a delicacy, and so are the liver and bone marrow of this animal. Many families eat freshly

people have been taught to read and write. Work continues with those who are only partially literate in the network of adult schools. 212

In 1917 there were only two clubs, three small libraries and one museum in Yakutiya. In 1951 the Republic had more than 1000 educational-cultural establishments, among which there were about 500 reading rooms, several hundred libraries and 5 museums. At the present time there are Party schools in all rayons. In 1948, 986 amateur music and entertainment groups were functioning in the various clubs. There are regular amateur art exhibitions in the clubs and houses of culture. In the north, e.g., the Anabarskiy, Olenekskiy and other rayons,—Red tents with mobile film units have been set up for the population of the tundra. 217 178 871

Public Health

Planned medical assistance was not provided for the population of Yakutiya until the coming of the Soviet regime. By 1927 there were 37 hospitals, 50 medical-assistant points with 627 beds, and 20 outpatient clinics in the Republic. Over the years of the Five-Year Plans the medical network has been greatly increased. There are now more than 630 medical establishments in the Republic, which employ 500 doctors and more than 2500 personnel with intermediate medical training. 743

An important health center has been created in Yakutsk. The Republic hospital with 500 beds consists of several large standard blocks. It is fitted out with the latest medical equipment. There are also a number of specialized hospitals in Yakutiya. The 33 epidemiological stations and bacteriological laboratories are working hard; more than 500 clinical laboratories have been set up. Vaccination against measles, tularemia, etc. is carried out at a number of laboratories. Since 1940 medical assistance has been given to the population of the most remote parts of the Republic by aircraft. Flying surgeons performed 183 operations in the year 1951 alone. 743 744

The Yakuts have made great progress in safeguarding pregnant mothers and infants. In 1924 the first obstetric consultation office in the Republic was opened. In 1940 there were 9 state-owned maternity homes, 37 collective farm maternity homes and 37 permanent nurseries in service. In 1952 the number of nurseries had been raised to 82, with accommodation for 2644 children. 743 843 844

Particular attention has been given by the Yakut government to the campaign against a legacy of the past, i.e., such social diseases as tuberculosis and trachoma. A wide network of medical and disease-prevention establishments has been set up. Every man, woman and child undergoes tests for tuberculosis, and practically all the regional hospitals are equipped with X-ray apparatus. Antitubercular inoculation is normal practice. 744

In 1924 a special brigade was sent to Yakutiya from the center to make a study of different parts of the Yakut ASSR on the prevalence of trachoma. In 1945 the first trachoma clinic was opened. The incidence of trachoma has sharply declined as a result of tremendous work in preventive medicine and hygiene education; blindness due to trachoma has been reduced to nil. In many places there have been set up interrayon centers where specialized medical aid can be obtained. There are two mudbath resorts in Yakutiya. [164]

The number of medical officials has sharply increased. In 1952, as compared with 1922, the number of doctors had increased by a factor of 30, while there were 26 times more personnel with intermediate medical training. 759

233 their clothing, and sometimes even help to look after the reindeer.
464 Such a woman--the assistant of the herdsmen, receives as payment
465 for the winter's work one grown reindeer plus her food and clothing.
The herdsmen likewise receive food, winter clothing, hide for the soles of their footgear, and four or five reindeer as their pay.

233 Notwithstanding the fact that the reindeer as a riding animal plays
438 the most important role in the life of the Dolgan and is closely con-
492 nected with the activity of hunting, nevertheless the carrier's trade as a source of revenue has no significance in the economy of the Dolgan. Reindeer are usually employed for transporting the goods of mercantile organizations from Dudinka to Anabar. A 320-kilogram load is placed on one cargo sled. The pay for transporting one pood (sixteen kilograms) as far as Khatanga (one thousand kilometers) is equal to seven rubles, or 140 rubles for one sled. The trip to Khatanga with a cargo sled takes two and one-half months at a minimum. During this time the carrier loses reindeer 1) from starvation (in winter the usual picture along the main route is the skinned corpses of fallen reindeer), and 2) from wolves. When we were passing through the territory one of our contractors was obliged to leave his load on the road, without carrying it to Volosyanka, and he himself was only able to reach his home on someone else's reindeer, on account of the fact that all of his own reindeer had been scattered by the wolves. And this is by no means a rare case. In general, on the road there is very great danger of losing one's reindeer, not only to the wolves, but also in blizzards, during raids made by wild reindeer, and so forth. On the other hand, the transportation of loads for pay has an unhealthy effect on the economy of the Dolgan, for it draws the polar-fox hunters away from their basic occupation. Insufficient supervision on the part of the regional authorities has compelled the population, to their detriment, to undertake the transportation of loads, notwithstanding the very convenient combination of waterways and the possibility of transporting goods along these routes. (1)

114 1. These questions [of reindeer transportation of goods--Analyst] were touched on at one time by us in print: Sovetskaia etnografiia, 1931, No. III-IV, in the article "Poezdka k dolganam" [A Trip to the Dolgan].

178 As long as the transportation problem remains unsolved the native
439 carriers with their reindeer will do great harm to the population; on

178 the other hand, [201] the possibilities for maximizing profits from
439 the sale in foreign markets of such valuable furs as polar fox are not fully utilized, since on account of their trips transporting loads the carters are compelled to cut down on the number of times they can make the rounds of their traps.

233 In places where there are many fish and wild reindeer--for ex-
262 ample, in Pyasina--domestic reindeer are hardly ever used as food. On the other hand, in places where there is little game, the average family is forced to use a minimum of about forty head and more in the course of a year, especially in the east, where the population hardly uses any grain at all, substituting meat in its place. All parts of the reindeer are used for food, not excluding even the con-
233 tents of the stomach. Reindeer milk is also used as food. [Fig. 18].
234 They milk reindeer from June until Shroud-Day, the holiday called
262 "Pokrov" [Feast of the Protection of the Holy Virgin] (November 14), but there are also some cows without calves which are milked the year round. The milking is done once a day. In the summer they usually milk the reindeer before tea, so as to have milk to pour into their tea, and when they do this they milk with the right hand alone, and with the left hand they hold a mug or an iron bucket under the stream of milk. In winter they freeze the milk and eat it in this solid
233 form, chopped into small pieces. A cow usually gives a half-bucket
291 of thick, tasty milk. For eating purposes they kill only old and sick reindeer; for clothing they kill almost exclusively young reindeer. If a domestic reindeer is used for food during a scarcity of fish and wild game, its hide is much more often used for clothing, at least among the well-to-do, whereas the hide of a wild reindeer, owing to its coarseness, is used only by poor people. We propose to give more detailed information regarding the number of hides which are used by a family in one year for their various needs in a separate work on the clothing of the Dolgan.

321 From reindeer horns are fashioned various small household articles.

In concluding the ethnographic part of my work on reindeer breed-
121 ing among the Dolgan, I make the reservation that consideration of the Dolgan ideology was consciously left out by me; in order to see to what degree the whole religion of the Dolgan is permeated with elements of reindeer breeding, it would be necessary to describe the religion in a very detailed fashion, which is outside the scope of the present sketch. It is much more expedient to give a description of the religion separately in an independent work.

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan

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Men's snow goggles.

There were certain traces of matriarchy still to be found. For example, in the old times several Dolgan families living in one dwelling would elect a communal housewife, to whom all the men were subordinate. Until quite recently, maternal kinship was considered closer than paternal kinship among the Dolgans. The women kept the fire going and "fed it," and also supervised the family sacred relics. Clan organization among the Dolgans fell into abeyance in the 19th century.

592 611 372 614 178

The development of trade and the introduction of improved techniques into the principal occupation of the Dolgans, that is to say hunting, led to the acquisition of furs on a personal level. Furs had long been an item of trade. Their commercial importance had an effect on the relations among the Dolgans in the field of distribution. Products from reindeer-hunting or fishing had to be divided among relatives and neighbors, while furs (polar-fox or sable) were considered the absolute property of the hunter and were left untouched. An important factor in the social differentiation of the Dolgans was the concentration of the bulk of the reindeer herds, which were not particularly numerous as a whole, in the hands of a small group of rich households. This became a basis for different forms of exploitation: such as the loaning of reindeer to poor people who then became dependent on the richer reindeer-breeders, the hiring of herdsmen, mainly orphans or poor relatives, and so on. Nomadic groups were often formed through the congregation of poorer households around a richer reindeer-breeder, who made use of his neighbors' labor for pasturing and watching the herd. In the second half of the 19th century petty Russian commercial travelers appeared among the Dolgans, together with Yakut merchants who exploited their kinsmen.

438 421 [426] [233] 648

Nevertheless, the economic production and distribution among the Dolgans retained numerous traces of the original communal relationships. This includes the above-mentioned collective forms of hunting (cuttings, spearings), joint fowling, fishing and so forth. Although the means of production for hunting and fishing had long since become private property, the booty

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